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OPINIONS OF JAS. HAPGOOD

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Other American settlers in Alberta and Saskatchewan mostly came into this country, I presume, for the same sort of reasons that brought myself and my family. Some of us had good farms where we were, but the farms were not so good as the money we could get for them, provided we could get the right land cheap elsewhere. We could not find promising free homesteads anywhere we knew of in the States, alongside cheap government lands or cheap railway lands. We did find such lands here in Canada, and so, considering everything, and particularly the future of our children, we came here. Others of us had poor places, with mortgages heavier on them than crops. Others had been working at one thing and another, saving up against the time when they could buy a likely place for farming, and when that time came they could not see where to get enough American land for the money saved. Some of us wanted to start merchandising in a new country, and grow up with it, but there were six Americans ahead of us in the business we wanted to go into wherever we struck a new settlement in the States. Others of us, especially young folks, had mighty little, and didn't see much chance, except of getting poorer, in eastern towns where we were raised. Size up all our reasons for coming to Western Canada and they amount to one. We wanted to make money, to get better off, to give our families a chance, and to have quiet times.

We found good laws here, and we found them well enforced. We found a general spirit of law abiding that suits most of us well. The Canadians, and English, and all the rest of the people welcomed us, same as the government and the papers. We have got a right to say that they knew a good class of settlers when they saw them, that they were not above learning a lot from such of us as were experienced in prairie farming, and that we have given this country a full return for whatever we have got out of it. The most of us have settled down to stay, whatever our notions might have been at first; generally we have been naturalized; the country is ours, in proportion to our numbers, just as much as it is the country of folks born in it, and its future is our concern just as it is theirs, because the future and the fortunes of ourselves and our families are bound up with its prosperity. If we help to give it a setback we have got to stand a big part of the losses ourselves. If we help to boost it forward so as to make it a regular Canaan soon, we can be sure of getting a fair share of the milk and honey.

WHY HE NATURALIZED.

That is the way of thinking that made me take out my papers in June of year before last, 1903, because I saw a general election for all Canada coming, though it did not arrive as quickly as I expected. I wanted to vote. It seemed to me what this country needed more than anything was more railways, and I saw no way of getting them so sure as standing in with the political party that was fighting to get leave to lay down the rails of a big new system that was sure to throw out branches and compete against the C.P.R. all along the line from sea to sea. For the Canadian parties and their names and their old fights, that the regular politicians of this country are always telling about, I did not care a grain of oats, and don't now. Fact is, I always voted Republican at home, and it seemed to me at first that it would be natural to vote for the most protectionist crowd here, if ever I did vote, and I'm not sure I ever would if it had not been to get the Grand Trunk Pacific built as soon as possible. You know what transportation is in this country. I don't blame the C.P.R. as much as some, maybe, for I see it is just plainly impossible for any one concern to carry the traffic offered, and to keep right up with the country's growth. What I did blame, and do now, is the foolishness that wants to please the C.P.R. by hindering the building of the Grand Trunk Pacific.

We have now got a general election for the two provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan coming on before long, and to save my skin I can't see but what we have the same question over again that we had last November, 1904. There's one party that was then keen to stop the Grand Trunk Pacific. That party appears now just as sharp set to make trouble for the party that is hurrying to build it. Now we Americans have had some considerable education in what it means for an election to run down the friends of a first-class enterprise. If we find the monopolist railroad men out for all they are worth against one of the provincial parties, we are not apt to think them railroads are exercising themselves so hard just for their health. Can any man give any kind of reason why the C.P.R. solicitor in Calgary should be put to boss the anti-Liberal party in Alberta if the C.P.R. did not see its advantage in getting the Liberals licked? That railroad has no kind of direct interest, one way or the other, so far as I can see, in the elections for local legislatures that are coming on. It stands to reason, then, that it feels an indirect interest. It appears to me it is the Ottawa government the C.P.R. is after, and that government can't be hit or hurt without some hindering of the Grand Trunk Pacific and its branches. You would think that the C.P.R. folks would naturally want to see quiet times here, and the party supported that has been rushing in immigration. But, no. And from the size of the interest the C.P.R. has in quiet times and increased immigration you can give a pretty straight guess at the size of the other superior interest the C.P.R. thinks it has in making nothing of quiet times and increasing immigration. That superior interest of the monopolistic railroad — what is it? Is it to strike the new local provincial governments for no other reason than that the stroke would hit the Laurier government hard, and that whatever hurts that government would hurt the Grand Trunk Pacific worse?

WHAT HAVE THE NEW PROVINCES TO COMPLAIN OF?

What is there in the constitution and terms that have been given to us folks in Alberta and Saskatchewan that ought to make us kick? For the life of me I can't see. We were all getting along finely under the Territorial

system, that existed until now, except that there was a shortness of government money at Regina to build roads and bridges, and aid schoolhouses, and pay teachers for the children. Besides that, there might be need, by the Regina government and the municipalities, for more power to borrow for public improvements. If the old, expired legislature and government of the Territory had had enough money and a little more borrowing power and so on, would not things have been in good shape? Then we would have been able to get roads, bridges, ferries, public institutions, and whatever else we wanted, as far as the government money would go. It was principally more money for western purposes we wanted. Give us that under the Territorial system and we could have stood it, and would gladly, for a long time to come. Well, the change of system gives us more money, and, I must say, the financial terms are all right. I might say generous, as I hear some doing, only it is not exactly generosity, but just good business for old Canada to be liberal to this part. As everything else is to go on here just about the same as it did before, except there will be two provincial governments instead of one territorial government, it looks to me as if there was nothing real different except the extra amount of money we're getting after this. If there is any kick coming from Americans on account of getting more money to spend it will be something new. The idea that we, or, for that matter, any of our neighbors in these parts, are going to throw conniption fits now just because some folks away down east in Toronto city say we'd ought to have 'em, seems to be kind of ridiculous. They say we are suffering coercion. It began on September 1st. Did you feel it pinching? Did you notice any falling off in the freedom we had on August 31? Time enough to complain of coercion after we sense it—ain't that so?

HOW HE GOT POSTED.

Mr. Adamson, of Rosthern, the Dominion member of parliament, was obliging enough to send me some of the speeches made at Ottawa last session, and I got considerable insight by reading them. From that I know that each of the new provinces, Alberta and Saskatchewan, will have an income of nearly 50 per cent. more from the Dominion than they had as parts of the Territories when they were run united from Regina. Last year the Territories spent about \$1,636,000, all received from the Dominion, except about \$150,000 that the Regina government raised. If the two provinces were started on an equal division of what the Territories received, they would each have about \$818,000 a year to spend, of which they contribute about \$75,000 each, raised by licenses and so on. Each of them, Alberta and Saskatchewan the same, will be paid this year by the Dominion \$1,037,375. Both taken together, they will be paid \$2,060,750 by Canada. But no, that is not all. They will each be paid \$93,750 more during each of the next five years for providing themselves with public buildings. The only thing extra to be provided for is the cost of two governments instead of one, and for civil government they get an allowance of \$50,000 a year each.

THE FINANCIAL TERMS.

At the end of the first five years a census will be taken, and the Dominion payments to each province will be increased, according to the increase of each in population. Each will for ever receive, as all the other Canadian provinces

do, an annual subsidy of 80 cents a head. It starts this year at \$200,000 on an estimate that each new province, Alberta and Saskatchewan, contains 250,000 people. If the census of five years forward shows that each has 400,000 people, each will receive \$320,000 on that item. Then the allowance for lands also grows with population. It will amount to \$375,000 this year, to \$562,500 for 400,000 population, to \$750,000 for 800,000 population, and to \$1,125,000 for 1,200,000 population. The allowance for civil government stays fixed at \$50,000 a year, and the allowance for debt stays fixed at \$405,375 a year.

This allowance for debt is a thing that puzzled me considerably until I found out how it came about. In 1867, when Ontario and Quebec and New Brunswick and Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, which had not been united before under one federal government, agreed to constitute the Dominion; they also agreed to put all their separate public debts on the Dominion. Some had bigger debts than others in proportion to population. So those provinces that owed least must be compensated for letting their people be taxed for interest on the collective debt. Alberta and Saskatchewan have no public debts, but our people must help to pay the interest on the old debts of the old provinces. So Alberta and Saskatchewan have to be compensated in their turn. They are allowed as much cash annually as they are supposed to pay in taxation for interest on those old debts of the old provinces that the Dominion shouldered at the start of Confederation. What the debt allowance amounts to in money is this: Alberta and Saskatchewan each will receive for ever \$405,375 a year, or 5 per cent. interest on \$8,107,500. It really comes to setting them each up with that amount of capital, drawing 5 per cent. interest. The old provinces made their debts in providing themselves with public buildings, roads, charitable institutions, school houses, railways and so on. The \$8,107,500 comes to Alberta and Saskatchewan so that they can get as well fixed as Ontario.

WHY IT WON'T PAY TO RAISE CAIN.

Now, if you run over all this with a pencil and paper you find that Alberta and Saskatchewan will each have an income of \$1,030,375 from the Dominion treasury for each of the first five years, to say nothing of the five years' allowance of \$93,750 for public buildings. Each will have a similarly derived income of \$1,337,875 when its population amounts to 800,000; one of \$1,845,375 when it contains 800,000 people, and one of \$2,220,375 for 1,200,000 of population. Now it is a fact that these terms make Alberta and Saskatchewan better off as provinces than any of the old Canadian provinces, except Ontario, and just as well off as Ontario. You can take my word for that, and if anybody says it is wrong I can tend to him later.

The more people we get around us here the more income these new provinces will receive from Ottawa. The more income we get, the more bridges, roads, schools and so on we can provide, with no direct taxation. Immigration depends considerably on the speed of building the Grand Trunk Pacific, and certainly it is not going to be rushed as fast if the government that backs it is put in danger or trouble as if that government is backed up by the west. Immigration also depends on that government being left free to attend closely to business, instead of having to think about politics and elections most all the time.

CONSEQUENCES OF ELECTING ANTI-LIBERALS.

Well, ask any regular native Canadian you know what would be the consequence of these new provinces electing anti-Liberals. If he don't tell you that that would start the biggest kind of an agitation all over the Dominion of Canada, then you will be told different from what all my regular native Canadian neighbors say. We all know by experience what happens in the States when the Democrats show up surprisingly well at the off-year elections. From then till the presidential contest everybody is afraid of a change, and business kind of hesitates, and languishes. If you have seen that happen where the federal administration is safe in office for four years, you can reckon what would happen in Canada, where the administration has to meet parliament every winter, and has to keep thinking about its party position all the rest of the time, if things in the country seem to be going against them. I may be wrong, but it does seem to me that there is horse sense in them Canadians who say that it is bad business to worry the Ottawa government between general elections. They say that Canadians have always voted according to that idea in off-years, or what they call bye-elections here. Now, to my way of looking at it, these coming provincial elections amount to something considerably like bye-elections for all Canada. If we put in anti-Liberals here, then from that time out, according to what the Canadians say, the Ottawa government won't be able half the time to attend to western business, to railroad enterprises here, to immigration, and to improving the post office service. Right here I am going to say that the post office service is mighty poor. It has not been keeping up with the progress of the west the last two years, and I lay that to the door of the folks that have been continually worrying the minister of the post office with politics in Ontario and old Canada generally. Considering the fuss there was made against the Grand Trunk Pacific railroad for two years, and then against the acts for creating these provinces for another year of parliament, I can see that the post office minister, being a big one in the Ottawa government, has not likely had time to turn round in a business way, he being all the time held close to politics. Seeing human nature is what it is, I can't blame him. But I want to know what will happen west here if we worry the whole set of ministers at Ottawa, for the next three or four years, by setting up anti-Liberal governments here in the provinces to fight the Liberal government at Ottawa, same as Mr. Haultain wants? Fine man, Mr. Haultain. I know him well, and as honest as they make politicians. I guess, but I will say it seems to me he is a long way off the trolley at present. Likely he will come round all right, and be some considerable use to the west again, if he gets no encouragement to keep on making a fuss about just nothing at all, so far as I can make out. But encourage him, and a prairie fire from Manitoba all the way to Calgary would be no great sight worse than the political agitation Canadians say would be started all over the Dominion. We Americans came here, as I said at the start, to improve our circumstances and our families' circumstances. Well, I have never seen, in forty-five years of watching, that the circumstances of any folks, except maybe the politicians that were out raising hell, was improved by a raging political agitation.

WHAT REASON TO KICK?

Now, what have we got to raise Cain about? Mr. Haultain wanted these new provinces should have the Dominion lands to sell, and to manage. That would mean taking over the immigration business, and paying for it, or else

neglecting it. Where would the money come from to do that business as it has been done the last eight years? Some say it would come out of the lands. But it has not come out of the lands to the Ottawa government. The lands have not paid for administering them and populating them, not by about one million dollars in the last 35 years. Nobody denied that at Ottawa last session, so far as I saw in the speeches. The Ottawa government paid for settling folks out here, because that pays the Ottawa government indirectly, seeing they get an income from the customs and internal revenue duties that western settlers pay. The new provincial government don't and can't get any of that kind of money. If we had ownership of the lands here, we should have to get a revenue out of them, instead of losing money by managing and settling them, same as the Ottawa government can afford to do. It seems to me sure we could not meet expenses of the lands and immigration service out of the revenue we'd be able to get out of the lands, if we kept on giving half of them away free to homesteaders, and selling the rest at a nominal price of three dollars an acre. And, if we stopped that policy, and raised the price all round, what about attracting immigrants? We want settlers here. No use me reminding why that is our first need, since everybody west knows their roads, bridges, schools, municipal institutions, and every kind of convenience, improves according to the number of settlers there is to help run things and stand the expense. We know what we have got in the way of an immigration and development service from leaving the lands to be owned and run, at a direct dead loss, by Ottawa. We don't know what we would get by taking the lands over, and running the development services. Well, I guess a considerable number of Americans, and of native Canadians, too, are like myself in preferring the good thing we've had experience of, to the gold brick we have never tested. It appears to me we can raise the lands question hereafter just about any time we see it would be to our advantage to do that, but that time is not now, sure.

THE INCOME FROM LANDS ALLOWANCE.

Why, a considerable part of our provincial income is to come by way of paying us for the lands we would sure lose money on if we took them over now. They used to tell us, where I was raised, that folks could not eat their cake and have it too. Seems to me the western Liberal members fixed up the land business so as to make that old story a back number. Here we are, just going to get for each province, Albert and Saskatchewan alike, \$375,000 a year as a kind of rent for lands that we could not make expenses out of if we had to administer and settle them. When we get to have 400,000 population in a province, that province, and both of them are treated the same, will get \$562,500 on account of the lands. How long before Alberta and Saskatchewan will have 400,000 people each, and more, after this year's bumper crop? Why, we could not keep the people out, except we raised Cain here, and scared them away by pretending we are suffering politically, and being coerced, and dra-gooned, and all the rest of that fool talk. You help the whole lot of anti-Liberal papers in Canada to proclaim that the West is a raging prairie fire of discontent, and how long before 400,000 people will be here? Why, our live American papers, them interested in sending the folks to the southwest, and to Washington State, and so on, or interested in just keeping the people at home, would be onto the thing before you could skin a mushrat. They would spread the news of the pretended discontent in this west all over the Union. That is not half. The news would travel all over Europe. I think I see the headlines in the papers, in all countries and languages, yelling that the Cana-

dian West is tyrannized over, with wild political agitation, up for a kind of rebellion. Hell broke loose here. You know how papers interested against populating this country will make a mountain out of a gopher mound. But if we turn down the anti-Liberals it appears to me sure that all talk will be knocked out, and we will have 400,000 people, and the corresponding income of \$562,500 a year from lands so quick that Ottawa will see it has got to census us long before five years are out, and pay up accordingly. Just let us keep cool and push along the good thing we have, that is my way of looking at the situation. There is money in acting that way. Let Alberta and Saskatchewan both go into competition which gets in 400,000 population first, and then double it, and then add 400,000 more. When either one of these two provinces gets to have 800,000 people, its income on lands account will be \$750,000. When either of them gets to 1,200,000 population its income from lands will be \$1,125,000. And, as I say, if the West then thinks there might be a profit, to be fairly and squarely made, by raising the question of taking over what may then be left of the lands, why, I don't see any political forces in this Dominion of Canada that would like to take the job of turning down the western demand. But THIS IS NOT THE TIME. No, sir, anybody can see our right policy is to lay low, and take the good things provided. We want the cash money on lands account right away, so as these provinces can pay down, without direct taxation, for the roads and bridges, and all kinds of public conveniences that will make the population grow like wheat in July. Once we have got the people in we can swing things considerable at Ottawa.

HIS VIEW OF THE SCHOOLS QUESTION.

If the lands business has been fixed by the western Liberals just to the taste of all kinds except the professional anti-Liberals and Mr. Haultain, what else have we got to raise Cain ABOUT? The schools. Why? Because it does not suit a lot of professional and anti-Liberals away down east, especially in the fine city of Toronto, that the folks west should have local option in teaching religion in their schools for half an hour a day! Beats all what a grievance that is to some down east that we never saw, and that never were west in their lives. What harm is there in local option in teaching religion in the schools from half past three to four in the afternoon? No board of rustees need have it, unless they and their people want it. If they do want it, and if there are any parents in the place that do not want their children to attend the religious teaching, why, all they have to do is to tell their children to point for home at half-past three. All the rest of the school day, forenoon and afternoon, the children, a like, must get their lessons in reading, writing, geography, arithmetic, and so on, from teachers all certified alike by the provincial government, all having to pass one and the same examination, all bound to teach out of the same books authorized by the provincial education authorities. If that is not a National system, I don't know what National system means. Did you ever know any children to get any harm by being taught religion, I don't care what brand, if only it is the kind their parents want them taught, for half an hour a day? Half an hour is long enough; no use trying to stuff them with it; that is likely to sour them on the scheme. At least, I can't say as I have found my own boys and girls right keen for much more.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL POINT.

We all know what the schools system is, we all like it, you can't find anybody who sees a practical grievance in it. The anti-Liberals themselves say that it is first-rate, and just the right thing. Their grievance is that it has been continued by Ottawa putting it into the new constitutions of the new provinces. Mr. Haultain says he would not disturb it if he was made dictator to-

morrow. That means, really, that he would not take away from the Protestant minority of a school district, if that district has a majority of Catholics, the natural right of Protestant parents to organize a minority school, so as to have their children surrounded by Protestant influences, and taught their half hour of Protestant religion a day. It likewise means he would leave a Catholic minority, located in any Protestant majority school district, the same natural right. Then, what on earth is there to rear up about? If the arrangement is sound and good, as it seems to me, what practical harm if it WAS put into the new provincial constitutions? Seems to me the western Liberal members might well brag of having got it put in at Ottawa. That saves these provinces from a possible agitation on the subject dangerous to business and progress and immigration. The schools system being fixed is, sure, no danger to our practical interests. On the contrary, the settlement of the question is attractive to all kinds of Christian believers. They see they are going to have a first-rate National and Secular system, with the additional privilege of local option, and parental option as to whether they shall have their children taught their own religion, or none at all, for half an hour a day. We want all kinds here. The neighbor that helps me to lay a road across the swampy place, or pays taxes to get a bridge built across the creek that I have to pass going in to sell my wheat, is a benefit to me, no matter what creed his children get taught, by his or their mother's leave at school after 3.30 p.m. I want him to have all the liberty, and all the local option I enjoy. I will just say it would be a mighty serious grievance to me, and to the other Americans around here, if we were not free to send our school taxes to a school practically under our own management. The idea that we have got a grievance because we cannot hinder other folks sending their taxes to a school that suits their religious notion for half an hour a day is just plain ridiculous. But it is not half as ridiculous as the notion we have a grievance because Ottawa continued here the schools system we like. Think of grown men complaining because the law prevents them doing what they don't want to do.

JOHN GOODYEAR'S GRIEVANCE.

That puts me in mind of the grievance of John Hiram Goodyear had against the law. He was a very respected citizen, where some of us used to live in the States; but kind of eccentric. John had a great opinion of the degree of authority a husband ought to have over his wife. There was not a kinder husband in the town. But he would refer you to the Bible right along: "Wives, submit yourselves to your husbands," and all that. Held that the State law against wife-beating had no root in English history, or the Bible, or common sense. Held it interfered with his personal liberties. Used to say: I don't want to lick my wife, God knows! There ain't a better, kinder woman in all the world. But all wives are mortal, and the Bible says it ain't good for a man to dwell alone. Suppose I got a different kind next time. What gets me is this here State law, I feel as if it kind of coerced me into treating my wife as kind as I do. If I was legally free to kick her she might feel more sure I am a loving husband."

Fact is, John wanted to feel he had her in his power. And, by what I can make out of Canadian politics, the only real kick against having the schools system of this West secured to this West by the constitution comes from folks that feel hurt whenever they can't feel that they have part of their neighbors in their power in regard to religious teaching for half an hour a day.

OLD TIMERS AND DEAD POLITICS.

If you read the speeches the Canadian politicians keep on making about what they call the Autonomy Bills you may have noticed that the biggest part

of them is always given to how we have come to get the constitutions of these new provinces, and not what we people who live here get by those constitutions. The anti-Liberals pretty generally seem to agree that what we have got is all right, but they say we have not got it in the right way, because the Ottawa parliament did a trifle of business, they say, ought to have been done here. I don't suppose many Americans, any more than myself, can bother with the history of the constitutional development of Canada in one hundred and forty volumes, and sixty supplements, and a new one added every time a politician delivers his latest account of how everything came about, and how wrong and unconstitutional the folks are that don't agree with his interpretation. What concerns us is the situation. What have we got? So far as I can see, both parties agree in my opinion that we have got a first-rate start, good money instead of lands that we could not get an income from, and a tip-top educational system with local option and parental option as to the half-hour a day of religious education, or no religious education, secured to every place and to every family in the west. What do we need to care whether we have secured all this from the federal or the provincial power? They are both alike Canadian institutions, and I am, for one, just as well pleased to get a good thing from one as from the other.

To worry about the constitutional question is like the old folks away back home in the States that keep right on to this day debating questions of States' right, free soil, and so on, that were live questions before the war. The war settled all that, the States, and, I guess, the coming provincial elections will settle such like things here. It certainly is not our interest that those elections shall UNSETTLE everything. That would be a good deal as if the States' right folks had won the war that ended forty years ago. But a GENERAL UNSETTLEMENT IS JUST WHAT, so far as I can see, THE ANTI-LIBERALS ARE ASKING FOR. If we help to raise Cain here, I want to know who stands to profit by it, except the gentlemen that want the offices which they haven't got.

THE USE OF A PROVINCE.

You would think, to hear them talk, that a province is a kind of sacred altar, not simply an institution for the good of the people that live in it. Its purpose, if I understand right, is really to secure the blessings of law, and the power of combination for local improvements, and order, and so on, to the people in its limits. A province, like a state, or like the federal power, is limited to doing what the framers of the constitution thought good for the people. Both were intended to secure individuals and families in freedom to do anything whatever that does not hurt any other individuals or families. Now, I want to know how any individual, or any family in Alberta or Saskatchewan is hurt one straw by a school system that gives the provincial education board complete control of every school that gets public money, up to half-past three in the afternoon, and then leaves every school board and every family perfectly free to let the children have half an hour of religious teaching, or none at all, just as the parents choose. What we Americans have been used to thinking should be secured by the public schools is full opportunity for good education to every child in the state. That is perfectly provided for here, and if anybody thinks Americans are narrow enough to want the local school-house locked up against a kind of week-day half-hour Sunday school five days a week, after the secular school closes, he has met up with some kind of Americans that I have never come across.

ABOUT CONTINUITY OF LAWS.

There is one thing I ain't seen anybody else talk about, and so here goes for drawing folks to think about it. We Americans set a heap by the good

order and law that are kept in this Canadian west. It all came of the only political or governmental authorities we had here till the first day of September. There was no grievance against the established order of things, none against the whole body of law, no kick registered by anybody. We accepted and improved what we found, and we got it all from the Territorial and the Ottawa legislatures taken together, or acting together. Mind you all the peace and contentment and good feeling came of no class of people feeling any grievance. They all had about what they considered to be their rights. Well, I ain't so sure but what we'd have considerable trouble and kicking and general agitation if any class of people was to find they'd lost the rights that they valued, by a change of the laws on September 1? Stands to reason that they would try to get back those rights that they had had for years under the Territorial government system, which a lot of them was born under. Then the other crowd, the crowd that was pleased to think of the first lot losing their former valued rights, would be whooping to keep the law so as those old accustomed rights could not be got back. Right off, the whole of us, that were so contented and had so much neighborly feeling all together, would be split up into two camps. There'd be, it seems to me, agitation and trouble right along for years, right here. And all for what? Why, just because the living rule of peaceable, free, honest communities that ever I saw or read about, had been departed from. That rule is, sure, that laws which have been going on a long time, with no hurt to any, and a lot of satisfaction to some, should be let go on just as long as they are not hurting any. Continuity of laws, if I can put it right in long-tailed English, instead of in plain American, is necessary to the peaceable and orderly development of any free people. No violent breaking with the past ever pays in the long run. Old Abe knew that well. Why he was so dead set in keeping up that old principle that they could not get him to issue the proclamation abolishing even the accursed slavery his honest soul hated until after two years of civil war, and then he issued the proclamation as a war measure, and not as a measure of peace. His way of thinking was that the time was come when it was necessary to hit the rebellion as hard as he could, and the way to hit it hardest was to proclaim the colored people free so as it would come to their knowledge, and set them to deserting the agriculture and industries they were carrying on for the rebels. It long seemed he would be willing the nation should buy out the slaveholders rather than there should be a breach in the continuity of law. Well, that is the principle it seems to me the Ottawa parliament went on in continuing right along the laws there was here before the first of September. For what sensible reason that there parliament should be expected to keep all the good old laws going except the education law, and wipe out that law alone, is more than I have been able to get through my head. The west made the education law that is continued and confirmed. Seems to me the Ottawa parliament made up their mind that the right way was to confirm what was legislation by the west for the west. And I am death sure that the general respect for law and order that we Americans value so high here, would not be increased, and might be considerably lessened, if the principle of carrying on the laws just as they were before September first had not been followed. No sudden changes for me. I ain't patterned after the Emperor William.

HOW THE OLD EAST WORRIES.

If you read the speeches of the Ottawa politicians, and the editorials of the Toronto papers, you must have seen that down there they do not look at these provinces with western eyes at all. It is all: "This don't square with what George Brown said forty years ago," or "it dose square with what he said thirty years ago," or "it's at odds with Lord Carnarvon," or "with Sir John Thompson," or "Sir John Macdonald said this, and Sir Alexander Mac-

kenzie said that, and Lord Herschel said the other thing, and Mr. Laurier didn't say the same thing when he was plain Mr. as he does since he is a Sir!" What does the west care about all that ancient Canadian history? Folks down there in Ontario seem to be living in the past, same as some old cantankerous married couples keep on nagging one another about old quarrels that the children had no part in, and don't ever want to hear anything more about. I make no doubt George Brown and the rest of them were very fine men, but, Lord, they ain't alive, and their world is as dead as they are! I certainly should be sorry to talk or write disrespectful of the opinions and feelings of the good Canadian neighbors me and mine are blest with here, but I do not find them all greatly put about by what George and the rest of them said long ago. Certainly some of them do talk as if it was a kind of religious duty to worry about what their folks down east are exciting themselves on. But I never yet saw anybody, that was really and truly worked up about a religious duty of that kind. Seems to me my Canadian neighbors generally, look at the thing just as I do, or nearly, with western eyes, and an intention to take hold and work the new institutions for all they are worth. That is, sure, the only way we can find out what those institutions really are, how good, how bad, and how much they may need to be changed. To go at rooting them up before we have tried them would be, seems to me, about as sensible as digging up seed potatoes to see if the pieces are all rooting right. And that, itself, would be sensible compared with digging out the seed crop just because folks two thousand miles away down east write that the man we elected to put the potatoes in for us did not follow the rules of agriculture in Ontario.

WHY HE TAKES A HAND.

If anybody wants to know what business I've got to be airing my views on the coming elections, I tell him I have a considerable stake in both Alberta and Saskatchewan, because all I have is in land and crops, partly in one province and partly in the other. I am not wanting, and I would not take any office or political job I know of, but I am wanting that my land shall rise in price and in value, and my crops, present and future, be grown with an improved prospect of being marketed at a good price. Seems to me that gives me a right to talk up in meeting if I want to, and anyhow I am taking the liberty. Nobody can make me believe it is to my interest that these provinces, or either of them, should elect anti-Liberals in the coming elections. I want roads, immigration, railway competition. The anti-Liberals seem to me dead set on giving me agitation, unsettlement, trouble times, everything I do not want, and nothing I moved in here to get for my family.

Look east in Canada, read the Ontario papers, and if you do not see that the people there are just waiting our western decision to either settle down for a long time of good business, or else rear up and raise Cain for a longer time, then you and I don't agree about the meaning of the signs of the times. I want Laurier and Oliver and the Grand Trunk Pacific commissioners left free to attend strictly to business, especially western business, the next three or four years. If they don't do it, we can turn them out next elections for the Dominion. But they can't attend strictly to business if we folks in the west slap them in the face now, and so set them busy with nothing much except trying to fix up their political fences. Give them a chance—for our sakes. They have got the job and the responsibility for the next few years. We can't get it away from them, do what we may. It would be bad business to worry them in the execution of what we gave into their charge last November. That they shall be worried, so as to hinder them attending to my interest and to your interest, is the meaning of the anti-Liberals here, sure.

I mean to vote Liberal. I mean to work Liberal for all I'm worth, and if Americans or Canadians think what I have said is about right, they will,

it's likely, work Liberal and vote Liberal, same as me. That is all from yours truly at present, but if anybody has any fault to find with my way of looking at the situation, I will be glad to hear from him. I will take back anything he shows to be wrong, and I will be glad to have the chance to reason with him about the nature of his complaint.

JAMES HAPGOOD.

The Alberta Act

The Alberta and Saskatchewan Acts

(This is the Alberta Act. The Saskatchewan Act is precisely similar, except that the name of the Province is changed wherever it occurs in the Act, and the boundaries are differently defined. The schedule mentioned in Section 13, and attached to the end of the Act, is here omitted, because the boundaries of the electoral divisions are shown clearly on the maps now widely distributed in Saskatchewan and Alberta.)

4-5 EDWARD VII.

Chap. 3.

An Act to Establish and Provide for the Government of the
Province of Alberta.

(Assented to 20th July, 1905.)

Whereas in and by The British North America Act, 1871, being chapter 28 of the Acts of the Parliament of the United Kingdom passed in the session thereof held in the 34th and 35th years of the reign of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, it is enacted that the parliament of Canada may from time to time establish new provinces in any territories forming for the time being part of the Dominion of Canada, but not included in any province thereof, and may, at the time of such establishment, make provision for the constitution and administration of any such province, and for the passing of laws for the peace, order and good government of such province, and for its representation in the said parliament of Canada;

And whereas it is an expedient to establish as a province the territory hereinafter described and to make provision for the government thereof and the representation thereof in the parliament of Canada: Therefore His Majesty,

by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:

1. This act may be cited as The Alberta Act.
2. The territory comprised within the following boundaries, that is to say—commencing at the intersection of the international boundary dividing Canada from the United States of America by the fourth meridian in the system of Dominion lands surveys, thence westerly along the said international boundary to the eastern boundary of the province of British Columbia to the northeast corner of the said province, thence easterly along the parallel of the sixtieth degree of north latitude to the fourth meridian, in the system of Dominion lands surveys as the same may be hereafter defined in accordance with the said system, thence southerly along the said fourth meridian to the point of commencement—is hereby established as a province of the Dominion of Canada to be called and known as the province of Alberta.
3. The provisions of The British North America Acts 1867 to 1886, shall apply to the province of Alberta in the same way and to the like extent as they apply to the provinces heretofore comprised in the Dominion, as if the said province of Alberta had been one of the provinces originally united, except in so far as varied by this act and except such provisions as are in terms made, or by reasonable intendment may be held to be, specially applicable to or only to affect one or more and not the whole of the said provinces.
4. The said province shall be represented in the Senate of Canada by four members; provided that such representation may, after the completion of the next decennial census, be from time to time increased to six by the parliament of Canada.
5. The same province and the province of Saskatchewan shall, until the termination of the parliament of Canada existing at the time of the first readjustment hereinafter provided for, continue to be represented in the House of Commons as provided by chapter 60 of the statutes of 1903, each of the electoral districts defined in that part of the schedule to the said act which relates to the Northwest Territories, whether such district is wholly in one of the said provinces, or partly in one and partly in the other of them, being represented by one member.
6. Upon the completion of the next quinquennial census for the said province, the representation thereof shall forthwith be readjusted by the parliament of Canada in such manner that there shall be assigned to the said province such a number of members as will bear the same proportion to the number of its population ascertained at such quinquennial census as the number sixty-five bears to the number of the population of Quebec as ascertained at the then last decennial census; and in the computation of the number of members for the said province a fractional part not exceeding one-half of the whole number requisite for entitling the province to a member shall be disregarded, and a fractional part exceeding one-half of that number shall be deemed equivalent to the whole number, and such readjustment shall take effect upon the termination of the parliament then existing.
6. The representation of the said province shall thereafter be readjusted from time to time according to the provisions of section 51 of The British North America Act, 1867.
7. Until the parliament of Canada otherwise provides the qualifications of voters for the election of members of the House of Commons and the proceedings at and in connection with elections of such members shall, *mutatis mutandis*, be those prescribed by law at the time this Act comes into force with respect to such elections in the Northwest Territories.
8. The Executive Council of the said province shall be composed of such persons, under such designations, as the Lieutenant Governor from time to time thinks fit.

9. Unless and until the Lieutenant Governor in Council of the said province otherwise directs, by proclamation under the Great Seal, the seat of government of the said province shall be at Edmonton.

10. All powers, authorities and functions which under any law were before the coming into force of this Act vested in or exercisable by the Lieutenant Governor of the Northwest Territories, with the advice, or with the advice and consent, of the Executive Council thereof, or in conjunction with that Council or with any member or members thereof, or by the said Lieutenant Governor individually, shall, so far as they are capable of being exercised after the coming into force of this Act in relation to the government of the said province, be vested in and shall or may be exercised by the Lieutenant Governor of the said province, with the advice or with the advice and consent of, or in conjunction with, the Executive Council of the said province or any member or members thereof, or by the Lieutenant Governor individually, as the case requires, subject nevertheless to be abolished or altered, by the Legislature of the said province.

11. The Lieutenant Governor in Council shall, as soon as may be after this Act comes into force, adopt and provide a Great Seal of the said province, and may, from time to time, change such seal.

12. There shall be a Legislature for the said province consisting of the Lieutenant Governor and one House to be styled the Legislative Assembly of Alberta.

13. Until the said Legislature otherwise provides, the Legislative Assembly shall be composed of twenty-five members, to be elected to represent the electoral divisions defined in the schedule to this Act.

14. Until the said Legislature otherwise determines, all the provisions of the law with regard to the constitution of the Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories and the election of members thereof shall apply, mutatis mutandis, to the Legislative Assembly of the said province and the elections of members thereof respectively.

15. The writs for the election of the members of the first Legislative Assembly of the said province shall be issued by the Lieutenant Governor and made returnable within six months after this Act comes into force.

16. All laws and all orders and regulations made thereunder, so far as they are not inconsistent with anything contained in this Act, or as to which this Act contains no provision intended as a substitute therefor, and all courts of civil and criminal jurisdiction, and all commissions, powers, authorities and functions, and all officers and functionaries, judicial, administrative and ministerial existing immediately before the coming into force of this Act in the territory hereby established as the province of Alberta, shall continue in the said province as if this Act and The Saskatchewan Act had not been passed; subject, nevertheless, except with respect to such as are enacted by or existing under Acts of the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to be repealed, abolished or altered by the Parliament of Canada, or by the legislature of the said province, according to the authority of the parliament, or of the said legislature. Provided that all powers, authorities and functions which, under any law, order or regulation were, before the coming into force of this Act, vested in or exercisable by any public officer or functionary of the Northwest Territories shall be vested in and exercisable in and for the said the Northwest Territories shall be vested in and exercisable in and for the said province like public officers and functionaries of the said province when appointed by competent authority.

(2) The legislature of the province may, for all purposes affecting or extending to the said province, abolish the supreme court of the Northwest Territories, and the offices, both judicial and ministerial, thereof, and the jurisdiction, powers and authority, belonging or incident to the said court: Pro-

vided that, if, upon such abolition, the legislature constitutes a superior court of criminal jurisdiction, the procedure in criminal matters then obtaining in respect of the Supreme Court of the Northwest Territories shall, until otherwise provided by competent authority, continue to apply to such superior court, and that the Governor in Council may at any time and from time to time declare all or any part of such procedure to be inapplicable to such superior court.

(3) All societies or associations incorporated by or under the authority of the legislature of the Northwest Territories existing at the time of the coming into force of this Act which include within their objects the regulations of the practice or the right to practice any profession or trade in the Northwest Territories, such as the legal or the medical profession, dentistry, pharmaceutical chemistry and the like, shall continue, subject, however, to be dissolved and abolished by order of the Governor in Council, and each of such societies shall have power to arrange for and effect the payment of its debts and liabilities, and the division, disposition or transfer of its property.

(4) Every joint-stock company lawfully incorporated by or under the authority of any ordinance of the Northwest Territories shall be subject to the legislative authority of the province of Alberta if—

(a) the head office or the registered office of such company is at the time of the coming into force of this Act situate in the province of Alberta; and

(b) the powers and objects of such company are such as might be confederated by the legislature of the said province and not expressly authorized to be executed in any part of the Northwest Territories beyond the limits of the said province.

17. Section 93 of The British North America Act, 1867, shall apply to the said province, with the substitution for paragraph (1) of the said section 93, of the following paragraph:

“(1.) Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to separate schools which any class of persons have at the date of the passing of this Act, under the terms of chapters 29 and 30 of the Ordinances of the Northwest Territories, passed in the year 1901, or with respect to religious instruction in any public or separate school as provided for in the said ordinances.”

(2) In the appropriation by the Legislature or distribution by the government of the province of any moneys for the support of schools organized and carried on in accordance with the said chapter 29 or any Act passed in amendment thereof, or in substitution therefor, there shall be no discrimination against schools of any class described in the said chapter 29.

(3.) Where the expression “by law” is employed in paragraph 3 of the said section 93, it shall be held to mean the law as set out in the said chapters 29 and 30, and where the expression “at the Union” is employed, in the said paragraph 3, it shall be held to mean the date at which this Act comes into force.

18. The following amounts shall be allowed as an annual subsidy to the province of Alberta and shall be paid by the government of Canada, by half-yearly instalment in advance, to the said province, that is to say,—

(a) for the support of the Government and Legislature, fifty thousand dollars;

(b) on an estimated population of two hundred and fifty thousand, at eighty cents per head, two hundred thousand dollars, subject to be increased as hereinafter mentioned, that is to say,—a census of the said province shall be taken in every fifth year, reckoning from the general census of one thousand nine hundred and one, and an approximate estimate of the population shall be two hundred and fifty thousand, which shall be the minimum on which the made at equal intervals of time between each quinquennial and decennial census; and whenever the population, by any such census or estimate, exceeds

said allowance shall be calculated, the amount of the said allowance shall be increased accordingly, and so on until the population has reached eight hundred thousand souls.

19. Inasmuch as the said province is not in debt, it shall be entitled to be paid and to receive from the government of Canada, by half-yearly payments in advance, an annual sum of four hundred and five thousand three hundred and seventy-five dollars, being the equivalent of interest at the rate of five per cent. per annum on the sum of eight million one hundred and seven thousand five hundred dollars.

20. Inasmuch as the said province will not have the public land as a source of revenue, there shall be paid by Canada to the province by half-yearly payments, in advance, an annual sum based upon the population of the province as from time to time ascertained by the quinquennial census thereof, as follows,

The population of the said province being assumed to be at present two hundred and fifty thousand, the sum payable until such population reaches four hundred thousand shall be three hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars;

Thereafter, until such population reaches eight hundred thousand, the sum payable shall be five hundred and sixty-two thousand five hundred dollars;

Thereafter, until such population reaches eight hundred thousand, the sum payable shall be seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars;

And thereafter the sum payable shall be one million one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars.

(2) As an additional allowance in lieu of public lands, there shall be paid by Canada to the province annually by half-yearly payments, in advance, for five years from the time this Act comes into force, to provide for the construction of necessary public buildings, the sum of ninety-three thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars.

21. All crown lands, mines and minerals and royalties incident thereto, and the interest of the crown in the waters within the province under The Northwest Irrigation Act, 1898, shall continue to be vested in the crown and administered by the Government of Canada for the purposes of Canada, subject to the provisions of any Act of the Parliament of Canada with respect to road allowances and roads or trails in force immediately before the coming into force of this Act, which shall apply to the said province with the substitution therein of the said province for the Northwest Territories.

22. All properties and assets of the Northwest Territories shall be divided equally between the said province and the province of Saskatchewan, and the two provinces shall be jointly and equally responsible for all debts and liabilities of the Northwest Territories: Provided that, if any difference arises as to the division and adjustment of such properties, assets, debts and liabilities, such difference shall be referred to the arbitrament of three arbitrators, one of whom shall be chosen by the Lieutenant Governor in Council of each province, and the third by the Governor in Council. The selection of such arbitrators shall not be made until the Legislatures of the provinces have met, and the arbitrator chosen by Canada shall not be resident of either province.

23. Nothing in this Act shall in any way prejudice or affect the rights or properties of the Hudson's Bay Company as contained in the conditions under which that company surrendered Ruperts' Land to the crown.

24. The powers hereby granted to the said province shall be exercised subject to the provisions of section 16 of the contract set forth in the schedule of chapter 1 of the statutes of 1881, being an Act respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway company.

25. This Act shall come into force on the first day of September, one thousand nine hundred and five.